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ABSTRACT

A portion of American history (1880-1930) in which institutional sex discrimination was strong is discussed with focus on Teachers College, Columbia University, which became a major center for training teachers and school administrators. Though it became known as the world's foremost education institution, its history reflects the institutionalization of sex bias in the staffing of all educational levels. Three themes are reflected: (1) the significant leadership of earlier values centering on philanthropy and service became relegated to minor roles; (2) the newly created institutional structures systematically segregated and devalued those roles and those who filled them; and (3) those deemed minor players were denied resources, advancement opportunities, and societal influences offered to the increasingly dominant scientific professionals. Women philanthropists founded the college to train young women for work as house servants, but subsequent male leaders focused on educating mainly men for professional school leadership. The college formalized its two-school structure with its School of Practical Arts and School of Education. Although there was unequal treatment of women and men faculty in terms of salary, power, and prestige, in 1927-28, the college began to appoint women holding doctorates nearly as often as their male counterparts to prestigious positions. As this occurred, it became obvious that the two-school structure was dysfunctional. Early traces of today's problems in education can be seen in the definitions of male/female role as practiced at Teachers College. Contains 18 graphs. (SM)

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# Out of the Kitchen: The Transformation of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913-1933

Salley J. Thomas

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# Out of the Kitchen: The Transformation of Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913-1933

In the closing decades of the last century and the early ones of this century social upheavals created by immigration, urbanization, and industrialization presented new, large-scale problems and opportunities for individuals and institutions. Answering the challenges posed by these, and other national problems, public and charitable organizations turned first to philanthropic works but, when these solutions seemed on the verge of failure, to new technologies and professional expertise.

We now know some of the disappointing outcomes of what were then considered imminent solutions to the many and varied problems facing the country. In both open and subtle ways the influential roles in business, public policy, and academe remained only narrowly accessible. Institutional biases reinforced the disenfranchisement of women and minorities, just as they continue to do today, and avenues for advancement led but a few to central positions of leadership. For the many, such advances have been incremental, at best, leaving us nearly 100 years later with women and minorities still under-represented in roles of leadership and influence.

As we struggle to overcome the biases and behaviors which have limited opportunity for many for so long, we would be wise to learn from history the lessons about institutional discrimination that could conceal our undoing. This paper presents a small slice of that history. During the period covering 1880 to 1930, a small college in New York City emerged as a major center for training teachers and school administrators, even as it provided leadership in establishing the profession of education as we now know it.

In preparing a sizeable portion of the influential education leadership of the day, and reaching far into communities across the nation, indeed the world, with its aggressive, innovative programs, Teachers College, Columbia University came to be known as "the foremost

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Acknowldgements are due Robert Birnbaum, Maryellen James Lewis, and Alice Cook for generously giving of their time and talents toward the completion of this paper. Errors which may appear, despite their capable efforts, are the responsibility of the author.

education institution in the world."[1] Its history, however, also traces the institutionalization of sex bias in the staffing of all levels of education. In the organization and structure of Teachers College can be seen an early influence that helped to shape the opportunities for women as faculty members, as well as the values and practices attached to professional education.

The transformation of Teachers College, Columbia University from a 19th Century institution concerned with "practical measures of social usefulness"[2] into a modern, 20th Century school "concerned only with professional curricula leading to degrees and diplomas in education"[3] occurred at a historical moment. Throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s, citizen societies gave way to scientific organizations, social work moved from the realm of altruism to that of careers, and popular participation in public school education was replaced by professional leadership.[4] A close look at the activities of that historical moment reveals three consistent themes: 1) the significant leadership of earlier values centering on philanthropy and service began to be relegated to minor roles; 2) the newly created institutional structures systematically segregated and devalued those roles and the people who filled them; and, 3) those deemed minor players (values and people) were then denied the resources, opportunities for advancement, and societal influences enjoyed by the increasingly dominant scientific, research oriented professionals.

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[1]Lawrence A. Cremin, David A. Shannon, and Mary Evelyn Townsend, A History of Teachers College, Columbia University. NY: Columbia University Press, 1954, p.59. See also Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency: A Study of the Social Forces That Have Shaped the Administration of the Public Schools. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; Maurice Caullery, Universities and Scientific Life in the United States. James Haughton Woods and Emmet Russell, translators. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922; and James Earl Russell, Founding Teachers College: Reminiscences of the Dean Emeritus. NY: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937.

[2]Russell, Founding Teachers College, p.4.

[3]Report of the Dean of Teachers College, 1911, p.11.

[4]See, for example, Douglas Sloan, "Science in New York City, 1867-1907," in ISIS, Vol 71, No.256 (1980), pp.35-76; Roy Lubov, The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965; David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980. NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1982.

These themes reflect the underside of the more fully documented transformation of institutions and professions from that of humanitarian or cultural aims to professional purposes[3] and are perhaps most clearly visible in the examination of the various roles played by or assigned to women and men. In the case of Teachers College, women philanthropists founded the institution to train young women for work as house servants; under the influence of the men who subsequently led the College it focused on educating mainly men for professional leadership in the nation's schools. Shortly after the turn of the century, in the course of this transformation, the College initiated informal structures to segregate the vocational concerns of the founding philanthropists from the professional aims of the school's education-minded leaders.

In 1913 Teachers College formalized this dichotomy by instituting a two-school structure. For the next twenty years the School of Practical Arts, with its undergraduate, vocationally-oriented aims, and the School of Education, centering on training professional educators, defined the College's mission and practices. The side-by-side existence of these two aims caused one of the institution's early leaders to reflect that "two streams were joined when the institution took the name, Teachers College, but they were not yet united."[4]

The history of Teachers College and its efforts to unite these two streams offers an instructive view of the mechanics of institutional bias. This history also helps to reveal the pervasive values which determined those mechanics. With the nation today engaged in public debates on the value of teaching versus research, the nature and practices of teaching, and the role and status of women in the work place, a fuller understanding of Teachers College's transformation could provide a useful framework for assessing the inclusive or exclusive nature of contemporary policies and institutional structures.

Teachers College began in 1880 when a group of mainly women philanthropists led by Grace Hoadly Dodge founded the Kitchen Garden Association to serve the needs of unemployed young women and girls. The new institution declared its intention as "the promotion of the

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[3]Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1976; Judith A. Merkle, Management and Ideology: The Legacy of the International Scientific Management Movement. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980; Frederick Rudolph, The American College and University: A History. NY: Vintage Books, 1962; Alan Trachtenberg, The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age. NY: Hill and Wang, 1982.

[4]Russell, 1937, p.10.

Domestic Industrial Arts among the laboring classes" and offered training in "industries which affect house and home directly and indirectly [to make] students self-supporting."[7] This practical approach to teaching young women and girls the skills needed to gain employment in housework was "abundantly successful," coming at a time when vocational schooling of all kinds was drawing increasing attention.[8]

Four years later, responding to needs for vocational training for boys and young men, the Kitchen Garden Association added courses in industrial skills, including woodworking and carpentry, offered some training for elementary school teachers, and changed its name to the Industrial Education Association (IEA). Along with the name change the Association reorganized its management structure, discarding its large and unwieldy Board of Managers in favor of management by a President reporting to a Board of Trustees. For a time Grace Hoadly Dodge served without pay as Acting President of the IEA. She felt, however, that the Association's growth and its nascent "higher education ideals" required the services of "a strong salaried President."[9]

The man chosen by Dodge to fill the post of President was Nicholas Murray Butler. A rising faculty member at Columbia University and protege of Columbia's President Frederick A.P. Barnard, Butler had served, at Barnard's suggestion, on the Board of Managers for the Kitchen Garden Association and as a Trustee for the subsequent Industrial Education Association. "An aggressive man of strong ideas,"[10] Butler de-emphasized the organization's original aim of providing domestic and industrial training. During the four years of his presidency (1887-1891), he facilitated renaming the organization as the New York School for the Training of Teachers (later shortened to Teachers College) and "changed its platform of humanitarianism for one of purely educational reform and advancement."[11] These changes were received with reluctance, particularly by Dodge and the women on the

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[7]Russell, p.9

[8]Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, A Generation of Women: Education in the Lives of Progressive Reformers. Cambridge, MA: Harvard university Press, 1979. Quote from p.24 See also, R. Freeman Butts, Public Education in the United States: From Revolution to Reform. NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978; and Grace H. Dodge, A Brief Sketch of the Early History of Teachers College. NY: Maynard, Merrill, 1899.

[9]Grace H. Dodge, A Brief Sketch of the Early History of Teachers College. NY: Maynard, Merrill, 1899, p.3. Quoted in Lagemann, p.184.

[10]Lagemann, p.27

[11]Russell, 1937, p.8; Cremin, et al., 1954.

Board of Trustees who "feared that the philanthropy for which they cared so much would be overshadowed by academic interests and academic ideals."[12] Adhering to Dodge's philanthropic concerns, and despite Butler's work toward changing the focus of the College, the majority of the institution's students, faculty, and revenues remained largely committed to vocational training.

These early attempts at reform drew on the generally widespread interest in professionalizing academic fields. Butler's introduction of these reforms into Teachers College stemmed particularly from Barnard's ambitions toward establishing a professional school of education. Beginning in 1880, Barnard had made several attempts to place a school filled with university trained educators dedicated to establishing and advancing rigorous standards for professional education within Columbia University. These attempts were rebuffed by the University faculty who declared on one occasion that "education was not a fit field of study for a great university."[13]

With Butler as President of Teachers College, Barnard's gained a new opportunity to achieve his goal. The two men worked together to refocus Teachers College's mission toward professional education and to forge an agreement whereby the University recognized certain of the College's educational offerings. In 1897, Columbia's faculty agreed to grant a Columbia University degree to graduates of Teachers College's educational programs. In return, the College placed some control over these programs with the University faculty and gave up a portion of its administrative independence. Beginning at the turn of the century the College functioned as a semi-autonomous administrative unit headed by a Dean, with the President of Columbia University serving as its chief officer.[14]

In 1904 James Earl Russell became the first Dean of Teachers College. Russell's tenure (1904-1926) was marked by an increasing tendency toward professionalism. Prior to the new Dean's appointment, faculty recruitment had chiefly been carried out by Dodge and other trustees from among the ranks of noted practitioners. Eager to build a professional faculty, Russell carefully hand-picked his own educators, especially those who would serve as leaders, from university trained and credentialed scholars. Men such as Edward Lee Thorndike, Henry

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[12]Nicholas Murray Butler, Across the Busy Years: Recollections and Reflections. Volume 1. NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939, p.181.

[13]Butler, p. 81.

[14]The title of president was restored to the chief officer of Teachers College in the 1940s. Teachers College faculty continues to this day to recommend degree candidates to the faculty of Columbia University which then makes the final decision.

Suzzalo, George Drayton Strayer, William Heard Kilpatrick, and Paul Monroe--ten in all--headed the College's first departments. They were joined by only one woman, Patty Smith-Hill, who chaired the kindergarten department.[15] From the beginning the men enjoyed permanent professorial appointments, while Smith-Hill served under an annually renewable contract as a lecturer until 1910 when she was promoted to the rank of assistant professor.[16]

Russell's 1906 report to the Trustees identified "two distinct types of students in Teachers College--college graduates and normal school graduates."[17] In 1909 the Dean again drew the Trustee's attention to the two types of students but defining them as graduates and undergraduates. He further spoke of the professional and vocational programs within the College and announced the beginnings of a plan for a formal administrative division of these disparate streams. In 1911 the Dean presented the Board of Trustees with his plan for a two-school system within the College. The School of Practical Arts was to offer "a broad and generous technical training [for the purposes of] vocational preparation,"[18] and the School of Education was to carry out "advanced work in professional education [upon] substantially a graduate basis."[19] The two schools, according to Russell, were designed to respond to the "actual conditions which prevail in American education."[20] The Board adopted the Dean's plan, and, in the fall of 1913, the College opened under the new structure.

Russell was careful to note that the two-school structure clearly distinguished the institution's historical tradition of social concern

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[15]Kenneth Harold Toepfer, James Earl Russell and the Rise of Teachers College: 1897-1915." Unpublished dissertation. NY: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966. Information from pp.139-167.

[16]Teachers College, Columbia University Announcements. 1902-1910; Report of the Dean of Teachers College, 1910, p.5.

[17]Report of the Dean of Teachers College, 1906, pp.3-4.

[18]Report of the Dean of Teachers College, 1913, pp.7-8.

[19]Report of the Dean of Teachers College, 1913, pp.7,9.

[20]Report of the Dean, 1913, p.8. Russell saw these "actual conditions" necessarily focusing on both vocational and professional education. Miscellaneous correspondence from the Dean to individual Trustees indicates that he also believed that this focus would eventually rest in two distinct types of institutions rather than collected under one roof, as was then the case at Teachers College. James Earl Russell Papers, Special Collections, Milbank Memorial Library, Teachers College, Columbia University.

(fostered by Dodge and other women philanthropists) from its more recently defined professional aims (supported by Russell and other male leaders of the College). The School of Practical Arts, he wrote, was the "beginning of a new type of collegiate education for women, one which sacrifices little of the traditional cultural elements and attaches a special importance to those practical arts which determine the efficiency of domestic and industrial life."[21] The School of Education emphasized, in contrast, "professional academic training for positions of leadership in the academic field," while endeavoring to set the standard for the "advance movement in the professional training of teachers."[22]

The twenty years of the two-school system were in many ways prosperous ones for Teachers College. Faculty doubled, student applications consistently exceeded the school's capacity for enrollment, the operating budget increased ten-fold, an ambitious building program was successfully undertaken, and the College gained its desired recognition as "the foremost education institution in the world."[23] If, as Jonathan Cole suggests, conditions for academic women's advancement have historically improved in periods of extraordinary growth and expansion then these twenty years at Teachers College should show women's opportunities roughly equal to those of their male counterparts.[24]

Information gathered on all faculty listed in the College's annually published documents show that, of the 165 faculty members in 1913-14, 85, or almost half, were women; of the 319 faculty in 1932-33, 165, again, nearly half, were women. Between these beginning and ending years of the study, however, the ratios were not quite so equal, with the College consistently employing more women than men. As Graph 1 demonstrates (using 5 selected study years), women overall constituted the greater portion of the College's faculty.

Women's opportunities for employment at the College resulted, especially in the early years, from the school's origins and the School of Practical Arts' vocational offerings, such as nursing and household arts. Later in the two-school era, the College retained many of its

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[21] Report of the Dean, 1912, pp.7-8.

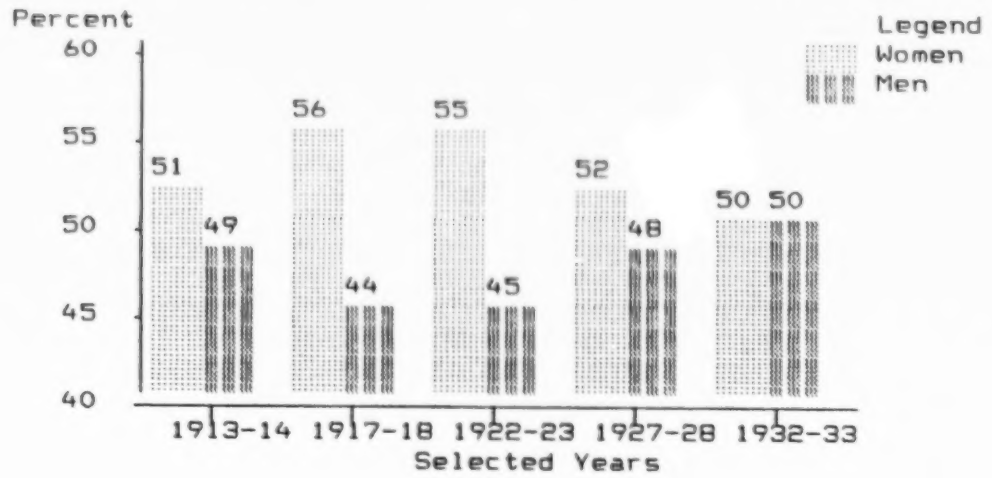
[22] Report of the Dean, 1913, p.8.

[23] Lawrence A. Cremin, David A. Shannon, and Mary Evelyn Townsend, A History of Teachers College, Columbia University. NY: Columbia University Press, 1954, p.59.

[24] Jonathan R. Cole, Fair Science: Women in the Scientific Community. NY: The Free Press, 1979, p.207.

women faculty and drew as well on growing pool of educated women.[**] In terms of hiring, however, the study found that new faculty employed by the College during the two-school era were approximately twice as likely to be men than women.

GRAPH 1: PROPORTION OF FACULTY BY SEX,
TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933



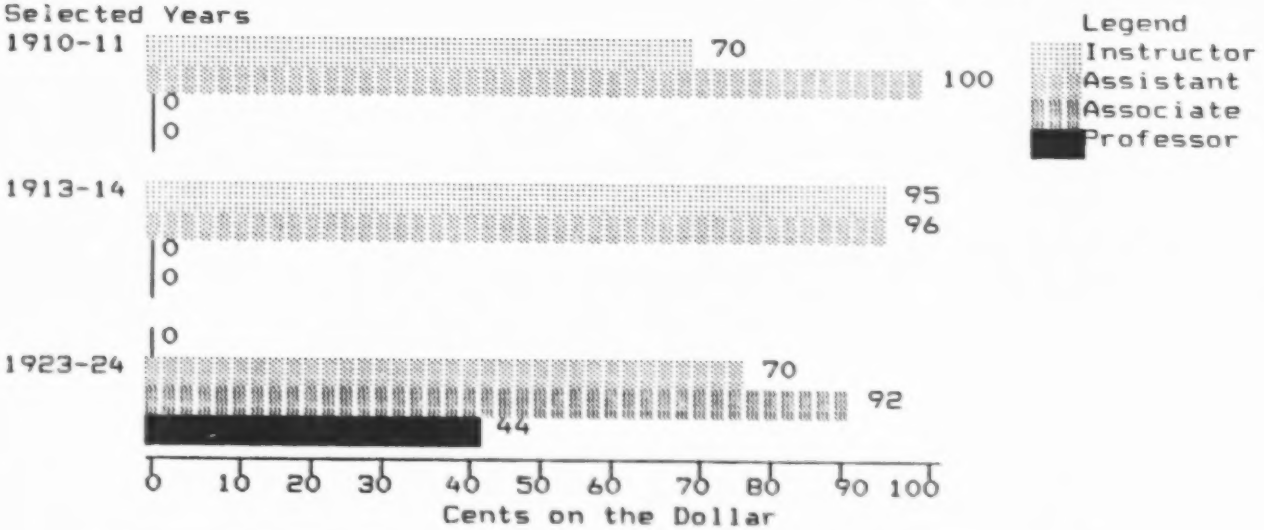

The ratio of salaries paid to women and men provides useful information on the question of gender and rewards during the two-school era. In 1910-11, prior to the institution of the two Schools, no women were listed as either full or associate professor, so a salary comparison cannot be made on these two ranks. Women and men did hold the ranks of both assistant professor an lecturer in that year. Segregating these faculty by the departments which would soon constitute the two Schools, the study found approximately equal salaries for women and men in the rank of assistant professor in both the soon-to-be School of Education and School of Practical Arts, while in the rank of instructor, women in the departments which would make up the School of Education received $.96 for each dollar received by men,

[**] Patricia Albjerg Graham notes that women in the nineteen-twenties "achieved their highest proportion of the undergraduate population, of doctoral recipients, and of faculty members." "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," in SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, Vol 3, No.4, (Summer 1978), pp.759-773. Quote from p.764.

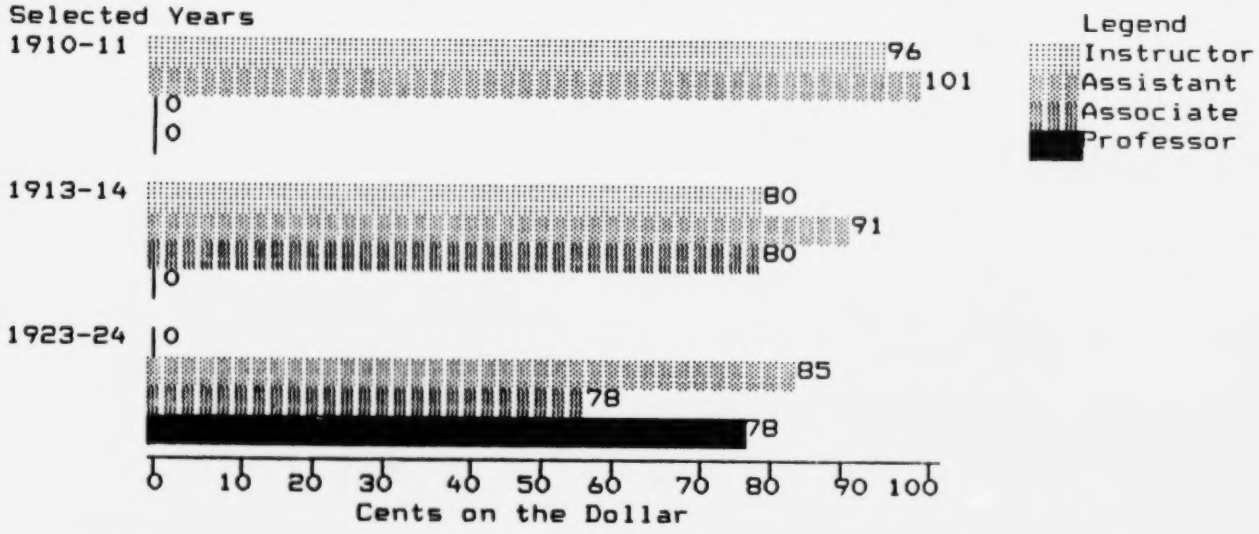
and women in the School of Practical Arts were paid $.70 of their male counterpart's dollar.

Salary data was available for only the years 1913-14 and 1923-24 of the two-school era. These figures show a slight decline in the amount paid to assistant professors who were women relative to those who were men. In the School of Practical Arts the figure dropped by $.08, and in the School of Education by $.16. The first record of salaries for women professors shows those in the School of Practical Arts receiving less than half that paid to men professors in that school; in the School of Education women professors received slightly more than 3/4 as much as men. The figures for the ratio of womens' to mens' salaries are shown on Graphs 2A and 2B, below.

GRAPH 2A: RATIO OF WOMENS' TO MENS' SALARIES IN SCHOOL OF PRACTICAL ARTS, BY RANK, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1910-1924



GRAPH 2B: RATIO OF WOMENS TO MENS SALARIES IN SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, BY RANK, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1910-1924

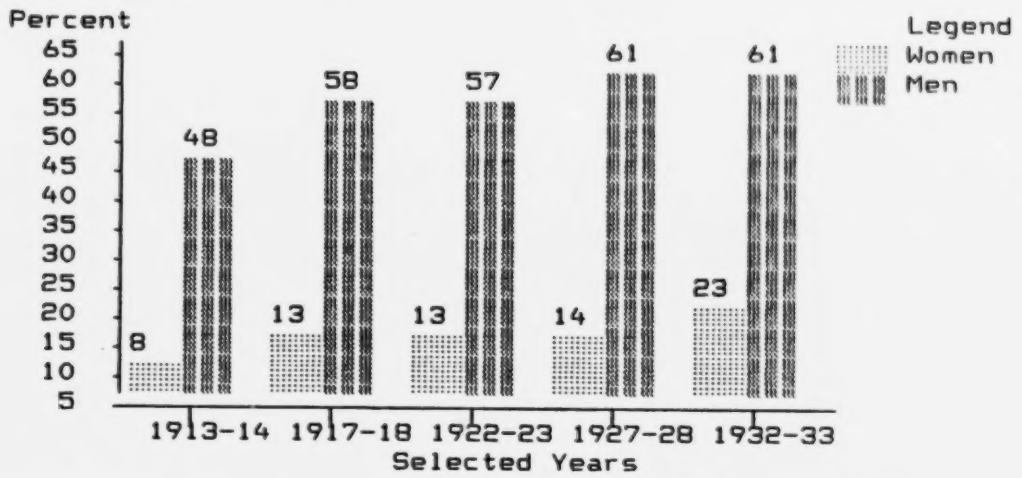



One explanation for the College's biased salary rewards could lie in the fact that the institution tended to hire more of its new faculty members into the School of Education than in the School of Practical Arts. The figures range from eight in the School of Education versus three in the School of Practical Arts (1917-18) to 16 versus five (1927-28) and 15 versus six (1932-33). And faculty hired in the School of Education were most frequently men (100% in 1917-18, 80% in 1922-23, 75% in 1927-28, and 87% in 1932-33), while in the School of Practical Arts the new hires were most likely or nearly equally to be women (100% in 1917-18, 50% in 1922-23, 60% in 1927-28, and 50% in 1932-33). Teachers College actions thus reflect the long-standing tradition of higher salaries for professional workers and men.[56]

[56]Women faculty were systematically paid less than were men faculty in the 1920s. Committee W of the AAUP, in its preliminary report of 1921 noted, "In 47 percent of the coeducational institutions and 27 percent of women's colleges in which it is frankly admitted that women are given less salary and lower rank than men for the same work, the difference stated ranges from 10 percent to 50 percent, averaging 18 percent." Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors 7, no.6 (Oct 1921), p.26.

College faculty who were women tended to have far fewer doctorates than those who were men (Graph 3). This information is important in view of the coincidence of the rise of academic professionalizing and increased reliance on the Ph.D. as the credential of choice.[27] It's also important to note that the proportion of doctoral degrees counted toward the designation of the institution as a professional one. The distribution of doctoral degrees between the two schools (discussed below) should indicate the relative importance of each school to the aims of the College's leadership.

GRAPH 3: PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN AND MEN WITH DOCTORATES, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933




One further set of figures is of interest here, and that is the proportions of women and men who had received their highest degree from Teachers College, Columbia University. Over 50% of all faculty held in-house degrees in 1913-14; this figure rose steadily throughout the two-school era, reaching slightly over two-thirds in 1927-28 and 1932-33. The question of doctorates versus non-doctorates does not arise

[27] Frank Stricker, "American Professors in the Progressive Era: Income, Aspirations, and Professionalism." Journal of Interdisciplinary History, xix.2 (Autumn 1988), pp.231-257. Stricker lists many of those who have documented the increasing reliance on the Ph.D. as the bottom-line sorting mechanism for professional designation.

here since Teachers College had awarded Ph.D.'s[28] since the early 1900s. Rather, the issue of awarding institution turned on a concern for diversity. In 1922, Dean Russell commented on the high proportion of faculty-held degrees awarded by Teachers College by saying "the divergent views of many institutions" was a desirable goal in hiring new faculty, and that faculty holding degrees from other institutions should be sought as a way to counter the "danger of becoming intellectually inbred."[27]

The Dean's caution notwithstanding, the proportion of Teachers College faculty with Teachers College degrees increased. Women were more likely than men to have received their degree from the College, as can be seen on Graph 4. After the Dean's comment, in 1922, the proportion of in-house trained faculty women shot up from nearly two-thirds to over three-quarters, while the faculty men with Teachers College degrees continued to increase steadily to nearly two-thirds.[30]

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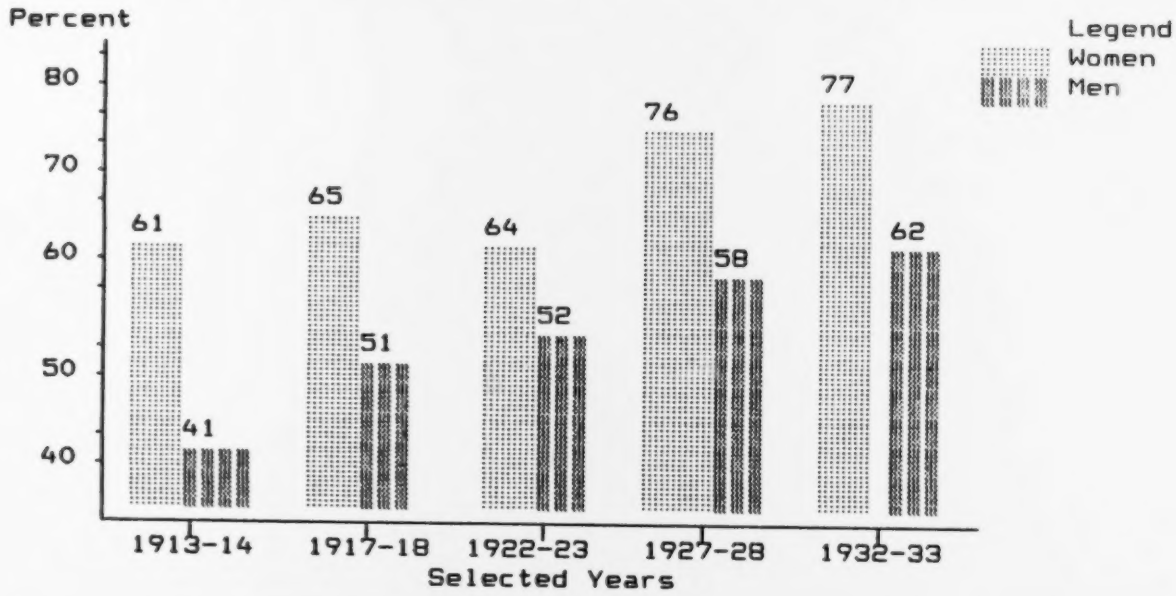
[28]Teachers College added the educational doctorate, or Ed.D., in the mid-nineteen twenties. Prior to that time, under the agreements forged with Columbia University, the College's highest professional degree was the Ph.D.

[27]Report of the Dean of Teachers College, 1922, p.177.

[30]James Earl Russell retired in 1926 and was succeeded by his son, William F. Russell. The 1927-228 rise in the percent of men with Teachers College degrees thus occurred under the new administration.

GRAPH 4: PERCENT OF FACULTY, BY SEX, WITH HIGHEST DEGREE AWARDED BY TEACHERS COLLEGE
TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933

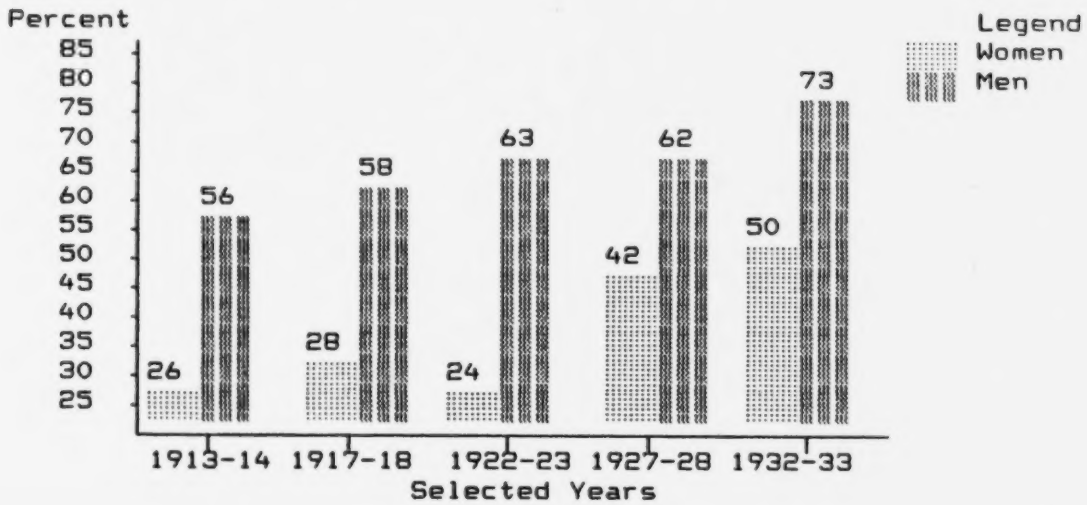



Though women constituted the greater portion of Teachers College faculty, it is clear that they were less likely to have the most desired credential characteristics: a doctorate earned at an institution other than Teachers College. It may come as no surprise, then, to discover that women fared less well in being appointed to the College's most prestigious positions.

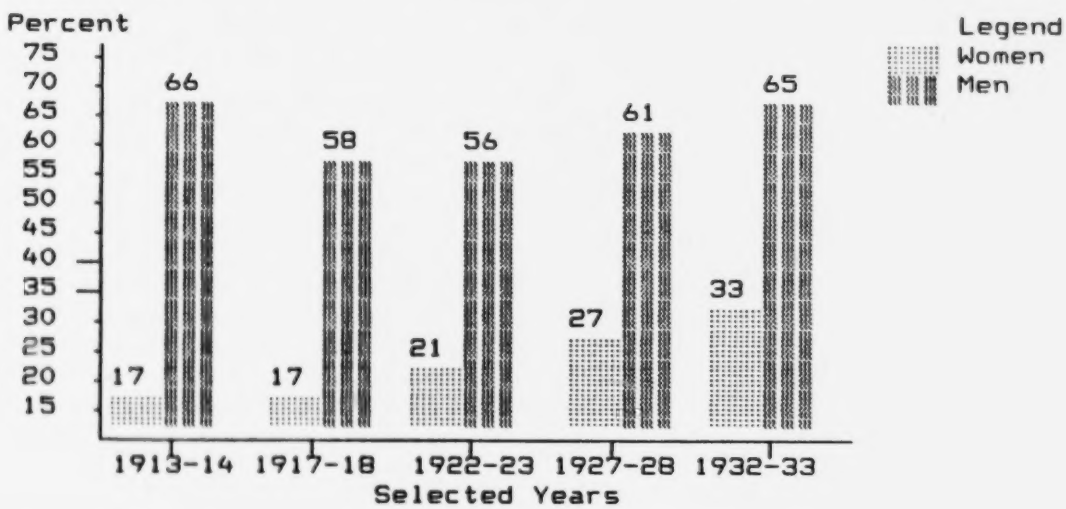
The College contained a number of divisions used in defining faculty status. There were, of course, the Schools of Practical Arts and Education but also another major division: that of "Officer of Instruction" (Officer) and "Other Officers of Instruction" (Other). These two groups were mutually exclusive and their statuses were well-defined. Though not exactly comparable, Officer could be thought of as tenure or tenure-track faculty and Other as adjunct or non-tenure track faculty. Faculty were also defined by ranks, professor, associate and assistant professor, and lecturer, much the same as is done today. Administrative posts included faculty holding the position of chair of the College's standing committees, directors of each of the two Schools, superintendents of the experimental schools, and directors of the research institutes.

Graphs 5 through 8, presented on the following pages, indicate that men dominated the appointments to the School of Education, as Officer, to the highest professorial rank, and in administrative posts.

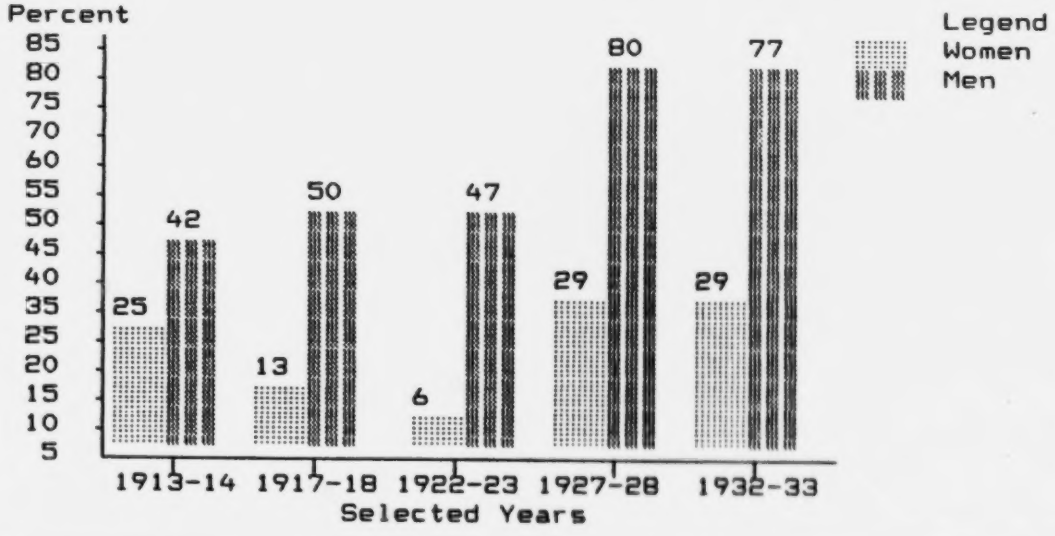
GRAPH 5: PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN AND MEN APPOINTED TO SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933



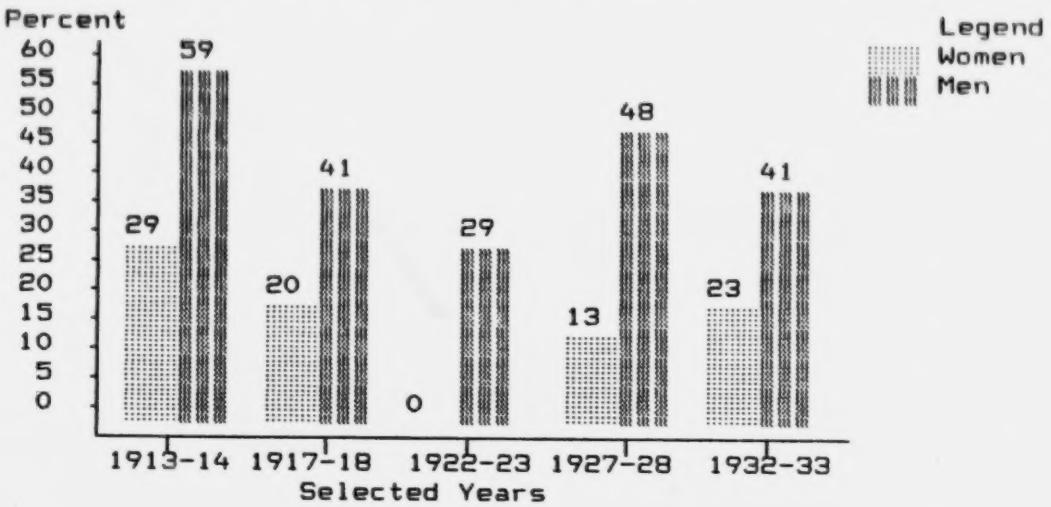

GRAPH 6: PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN AND MEN APPOINTED OFFICER TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933



GRAPH 7: PROPORTION OF WOMEN AND MEN APPOINTED PROFESSOR
TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933

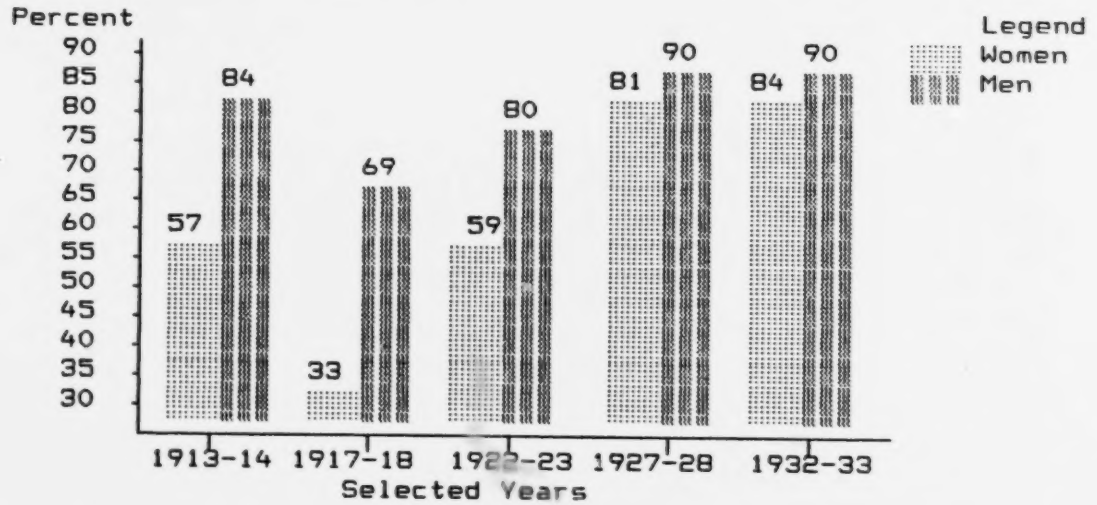



GRAPH 8: PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN AND MEN WITH ADMINISTRATIVE APPOINTMENTS
TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933

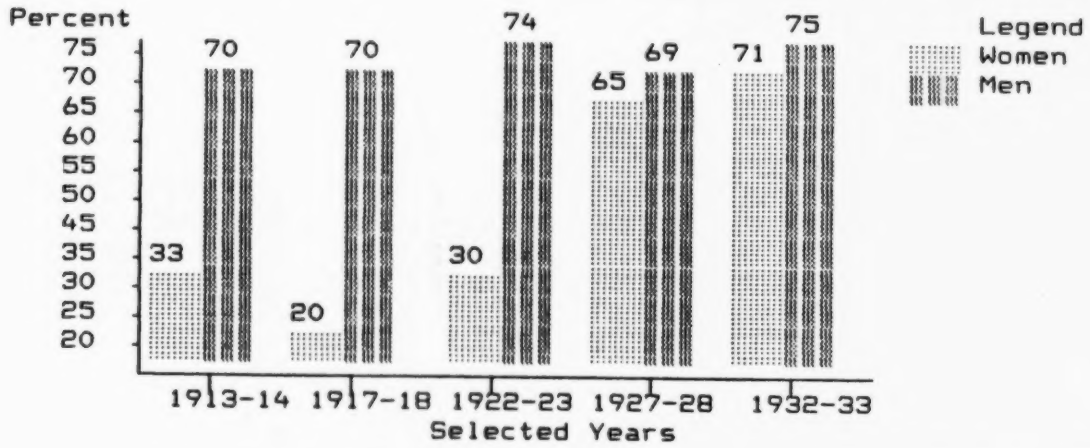


The figures on the Graphs above represent both doctoral and non-doctoral degree holding faculty. Thus the differences between women and men in holding the most prestigious appointments could possibly be explained by the differences in credentials. To test that explanation, degrees were held constant; that is, only doctorate-holding women and men were compared on appointment to Officer, the School of Education, and the rank of professor. The findings are presented on Graphs 9 through 11.

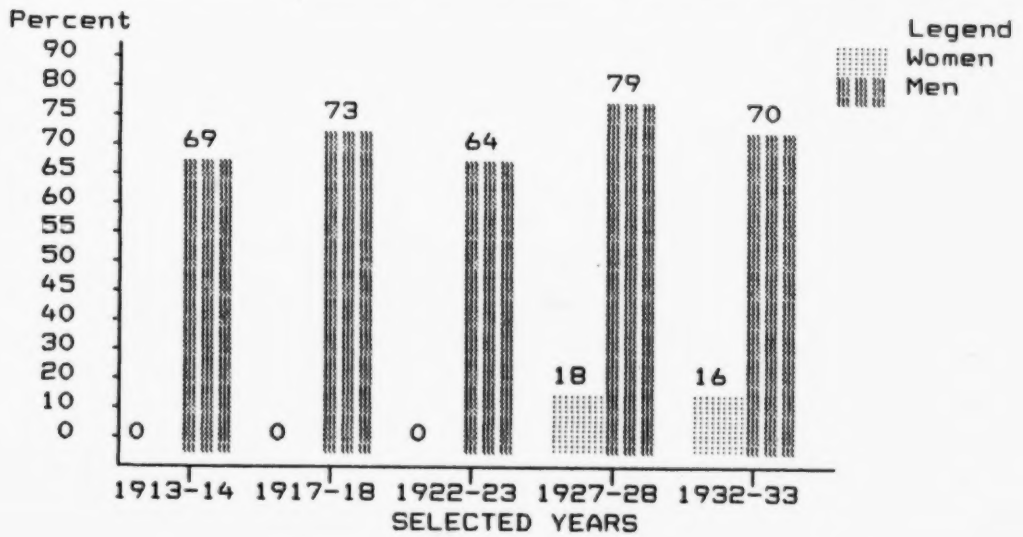
GRAPH 9: PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN AND MEN WITH DOCTORATES APPOINTED OFFICER, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933



GRAPH 10: PROPORTION OF DOCTORATE-HOLDERS, BY SEX, APPOINTED TO THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-33



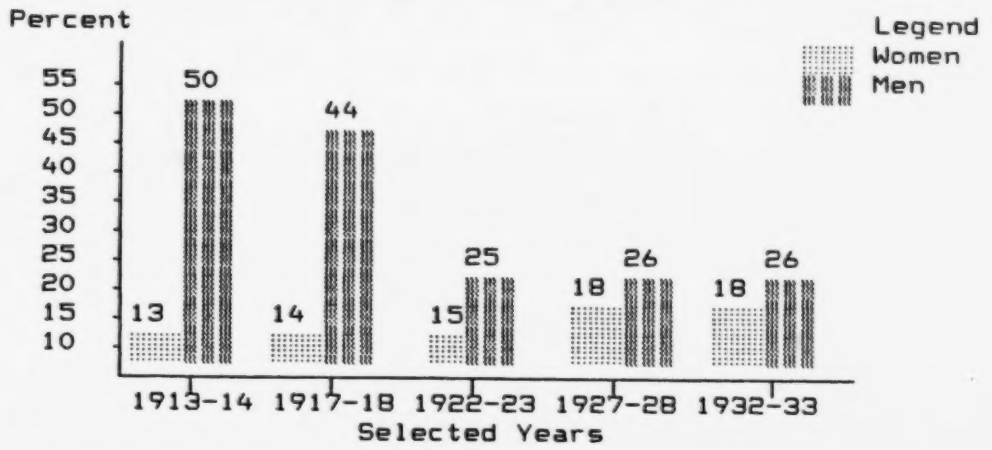

GRAPH 11: WOMEN AND MEN DOCTORATE HOLDERS APPOINTED PROFESSOR TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933



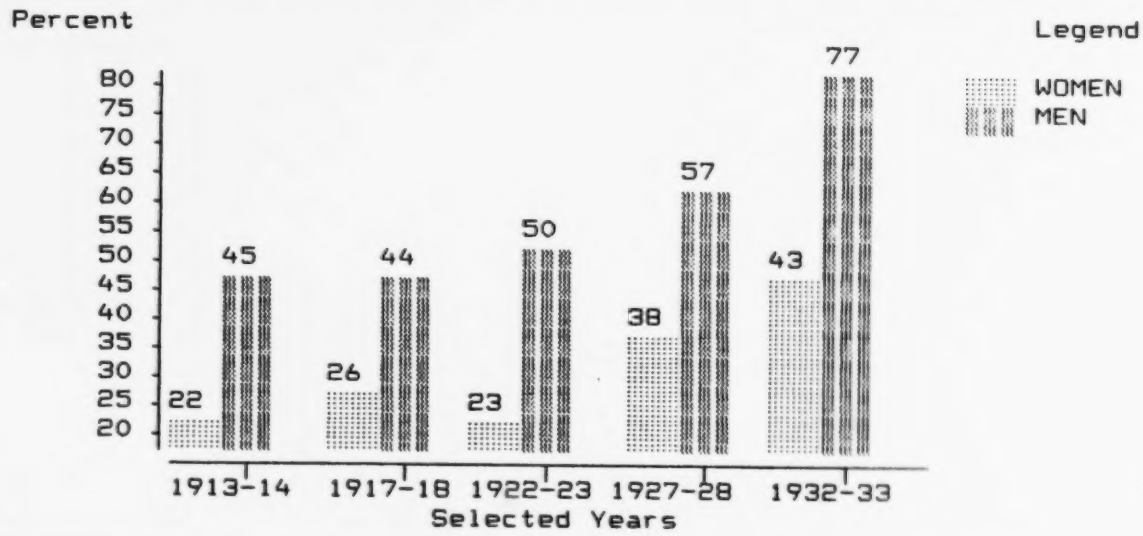
The data shows that a failure to equally reward similarly credentialed women and men marks the first years of the College's two-school era. Women with doctorates fared much better in the appointment to Officer and the School of Education in the last two study years, however, and, in 1927-28, began for the first time to receive appointments as professor. A discussion of these apparently positive changes in the rewarding of women faculty appears below.

It is possible that the explanation for the College's unequal treatment of women and men doctoral-holders lies in the small pool of women with this highest professional degree. There may simply not have been enough diversity among doctorate-holding women to satisfy the functional needs of the institution, particularly in the more prestigious areas. More women than men did hold the less desireable non-doctoral degrees, thus an examination of the College's appointment practices of non-doctorate holding men and women could be used to test the above assumption. Graphs 12 through 14 present the results of this test.

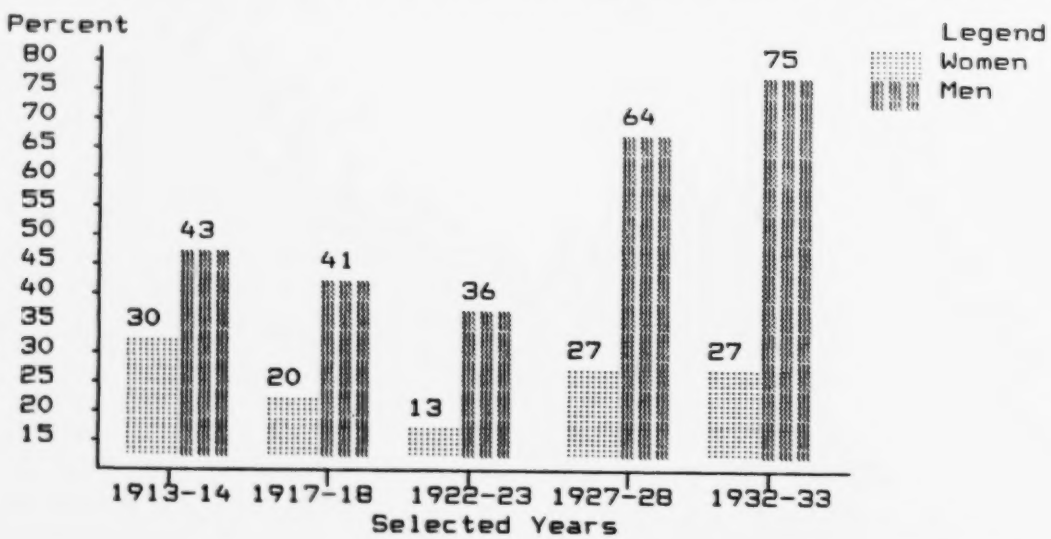
GRAPH 12: NON-DOCTORAL HOLDING WOMEN AND MEN APPOINTED OFFICER TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933



GRAPH 13: PERCENT OF NON-DOCTORATE HOLDING FACULTY, BY SEX, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933




GRAPH 14: PERCENT OF NON-DOCTORATE HOLDING FACULTY, BY SEX, APPOINTED PROFESSOR, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933



This test again fails to find a positive relationship between highest degree held and appointment to the most prestigious positions. On the contrary, men without doctorates were more apt to be appointed Officer, and as much as twice or three times more frequently appointed to the School of Education and as Professor than were women without doctorates. An institutional sex-bias surfaces in the findings that women with or without doctorates were less likely than men with or without doctorates to receive those appointments deemed most favorable in the rapidly professionalizing Teachers College.

The dimensions of this sex-bias become increasingly clear in the comparison of women doctorate-holders and men who did not have this highest degree on the three appointments of Officer, School of Education, and Professor. Graphs 15 through 17 illustrate the finding that a closer relationship existed between these appointments and sex of the faculty than between the appointments and the doctoral degree.

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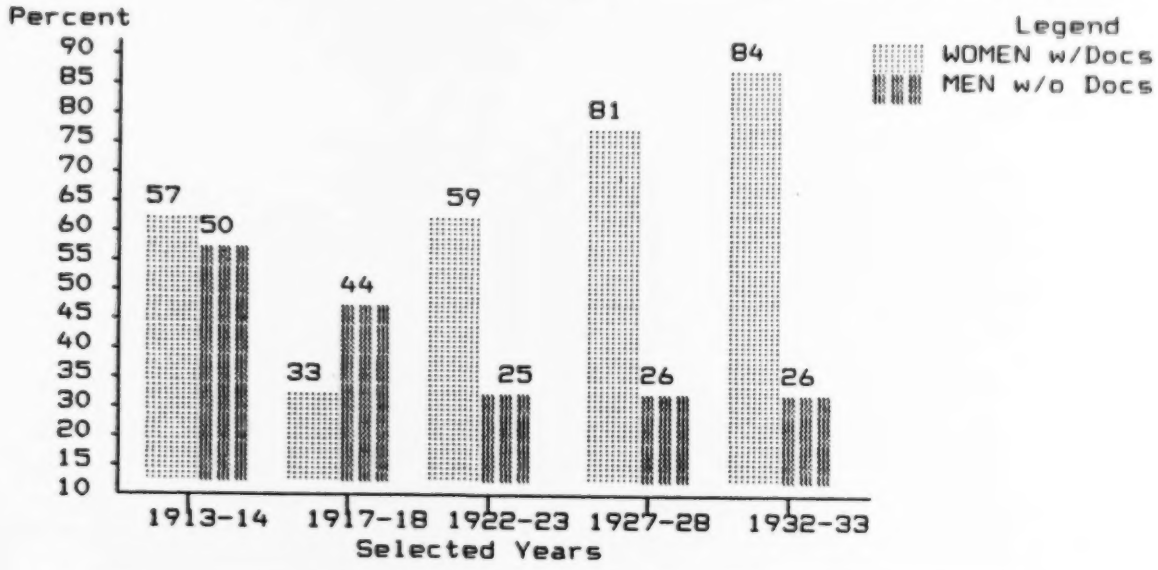
GRAPH 15: PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN WITH AND MEN WITHOUT DOCTORATES APPOINTED OFFICER, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933

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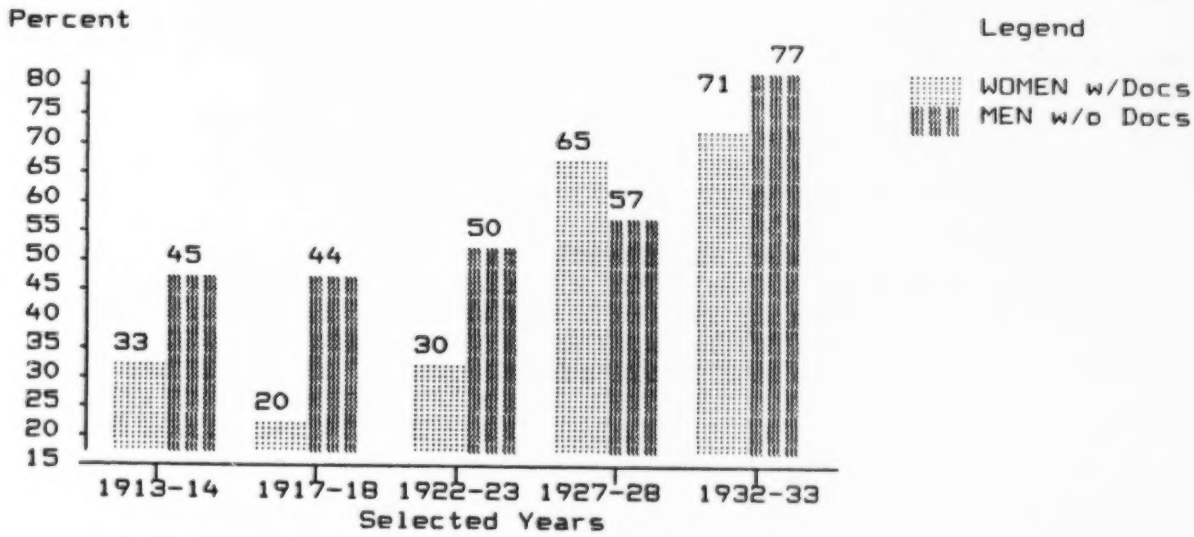
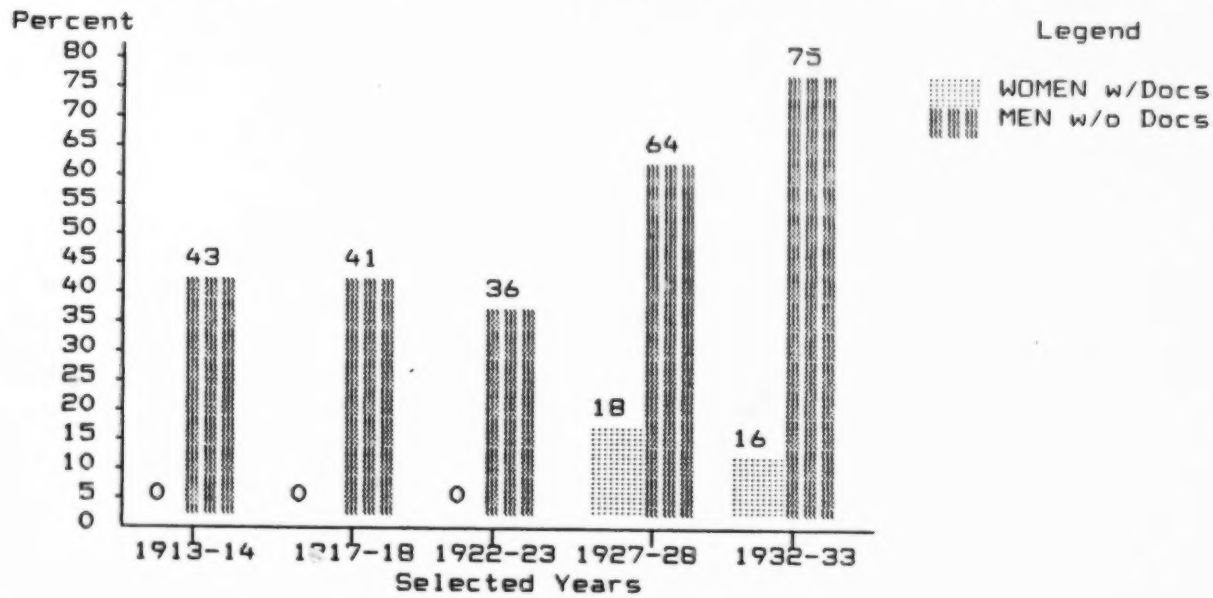
GRAPH 16: PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN WITH AND MEN WITHOUT DOCTORATES, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933




GRAPH 17: PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN WITH AND MEN WITHOUT DOCTORATES APPOINTED PROFESSOR, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1913-1933



Women's varying successes in receiving these advantageous appointments after 1922-23, could be explained in part by the gathering attention to women in society as a whole (see pp.28ff of this paper for further discussion of this phenomenon). Beginning with 1926-27, the new, bureaucratically-oriented administration of the second Dean Russell (discussed on p.27 of this paper) might have been a factor in faculty women's successes. They could have also had roots in the length of time individual women had been employed by the College, given the relative slow promotion of women. The 6 year lapse between Smith-Hill's assuming the Chair of the Kindergarten Department in 1904 and her 1910 appointment as assistant professor provides one such example within the College. Women's relative slow rise in academic institutions across the U.S. was documented in the 1921 report of AAUP's Committee W which noted, "the promotion of women is much slower even when they do equally as good work as the men."[31]

The possible explanations attached to the unequal treatment of women and men faculty reinforces rather than reduces the shadow of institutional sex-bias clouding the history of Teachers College's movement from its original goals of social usefulness toward that of a professional education school. Beginning with its hiring practices, thee College applied different criteria to its women faculty than to its men. Women were less apt to be required to hold an earned doctorate, for instance, indicating a reluctance to define women as a group as professionals. The perception that the College viewed women as non-professional gathers strength given the fact that two-thirds to three-quarters of faculty women employed during the two-school era had received their degrees from Teachers College, a professional education school considered to be the foremost such institution in the world.

Once they were employed, the College also treated its men faculty differently than it did its women faculty, including paying higher salaries to the former group. Appointments to the highly professional status of Officer, professor, and administrative positions were granted considerably more often to men than to women--even when the two groups held similar credentials. The notion of credentials as a determining factor is further compromised by the findings that men without

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[31]Committee W report, p.27. See also, Emilie J. Hutchinson, Women and the Ph.D., Bulletin no.2. Greensboro, NC: The North Carolina College for Women, 1929. An assistant professor of botany, responding to Hutchinson's questionnaire, complained, "Women who expect to engage in college or university teaching should be aware of the reluctance of administrations to promote women or to pay them salaries equal to those paid men of similar attainments for similar work." Hutchinson, pp.174-174.

doctorates received proportionately more appointments to the School of Education and as professor than did doctorate-holding women.[32]

The sex-bias indicated by these findings can also be found in the College's funding of the two Schools. Recall that the School of Practical Arts contained the majority of the women faculty, and that the School of Education was largely the provence of men. In the years leading up to the institutionalization of the two schools (1908 through 1912) the College expended an average of less than 40% of its total operating budget on the departments which would be incorporated in the School of Practical Arts, even though nearly 75% of its students and faculty were located in those departments. A similar imbalance of expenditures to students and faculty continued to exist through the early years of the two schools (1919 was the last year such information was available), as can be seen on Graph 18.[33]

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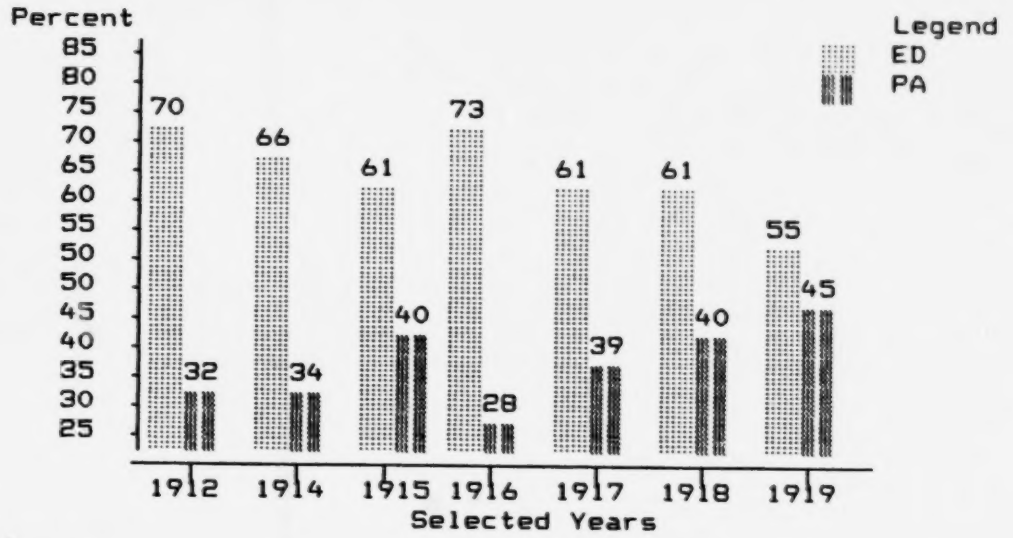
[32]Women were not only systematically excluded from positions of power and prestige, hence influence, on thee College's policy making and implementing activities, they were also barred from attending faculty meetings until the early 1920s. James Earl Russell first held Teachers College faculty meetings in his home "where the men discussed the direction of the College over brandy and cigars" and later in a private men-only club which did not allow any woman on its premises. David Eugene Smith, "First Recollections of Teachers College," written on the occasion of James Earl Russell's retirement in 1926. Handwritten document in the James Earl Russell Papers, Special Collections, Milbank Memorial Library, Teachers College, Columbia University.

[33]Data drawn from Financial Reports of the College in the James Earl Russell Papers, Series 14. In the Milbank Memorial Library Special Collections, Teachers College, Columbia University.

GRAPH 18: RATIO OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES IN THE TWO SCHOOLS TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, 1912-1919




This disparity in expenditures is telling not only because the greater portion of students and faculty, and women, were in the School of Practical Arts but because of the departments funded within each school. The School of Education spent the major portion of the College's education and instruction budget on what could be called core subject areas: history, philosophy, French and German, mathematics, music, and physical education--most of which require minimum expenditures on equipment. In contrast, laboratory equipment was a must for the School of Practical Arts programs in household arts: nutrition and foods, chemistry, and textiles and clothing, in nursing and health, and in industrial arts, including woodworking and metal working. The contrast of greater equipment expense in the School of Practical Arts with the greater support allocated to the School of Education speaks the need for further explanation.

Along with the core subject areas listed above, the School of Education provided courses leading to degrees in education administration, kindergarten and elementary education. Additionally, this School operated the College's experimental schools. In 1913, at the beginning of the two-school era, the Horace Mann Schools and the Speyer School were already teaching classes for students in the kindergarten through high school grades. These first schools were joined in 1919 by the Lincoln School, offering elementary education, and in 1921 by the Quaker Grove School, providing training for rural

school teachers. Initially these experimental schools aimed at providing teachers an ongoing structured environment in which to gain and practice their trade.

It could be argued that, in teaching teachers how to teach, these experimental schools were extensions of the vocational mission of the College, even though they operated out of the School of Education. As the two-school era wore on, however, the character of the experimental schools changed; the focus moved from that of teaching teachers to that of research about teaching and practice in supervision and administration.[34] Out of this new focus came the College's research institutes. Although not listed as a separate entity until 1922, some three years beyond the financial information reported above, the Institute of Educational Research was in fact operating within the School of Education by 1918. Other research institutes established in the School of Education during the next few years included the Institute of Educational Research, the Institute of School Experimentation, and the Bureau of Curriculum Research. Only one research institute, the Institute of Child Welfare Research, developed in the School of Practical Arts, and that in 1926.[35]

Too little information was available at the time of this study to more fully investigate the financing of the experimental schools and research institutes, and further research is needed in order to understand how the College allocated its financial resources to further its mission. The rise in numbers of teachers in the experimental schools, from 80 in 1917-18 to nearly 150 in 1928-29 and the concurrent rise in numbers of research institute personnel, from 12 in 1917-18 to 60 in 1928-29 speaks, however, of growth in both areas. A follow up study should be made to determine the status and gender of the teachers and personnel, the percentage of College resources dedicated to each, and the timing and shifts of emphasis in focus.

There is also a need for further study on the relationships of the institution's sources of income and its expenditures. In the years between the late 1890s and her death in 1914, Grace Hoadly Dodge raised, and personally contributed, a significant portion of the College's capital and operating funds.[36] Characterized by Russell as "a financial angel,"[37] Dodge sought funds from philanthropic minded

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[34]Report of the Dean of Teachers College, 1917, p.23.

[35]Teachers College Announcement, 1912-1937.

[36]Lagemann, p.28; Russell, pp.8-23.

[37]Russell, p.23. Russell is quoted as having described Teachers College as "Grace Dodge's oldest child," as an indication that he was "well aware of how much the College had come to mean to her."

individuals and organizations bent on furthering the purposes of social usefulness with which the institution had begun. Yet, if the figures above are a true indication, the monies were most likely to be spent not in the vocational School of Practical Arts but in the professional School of Education. Beginning about the time of Dodge's death, Teachers College sought and received funding from businesses and foundations, entities with very different agendas than those of the original donors.[38]

The changes in women's and men's appointment patterns which occurred during the last two years of the study lead to questions about the continuation of institutionalized sex bias at the College. As Graphs 9 through 11 show, the College began, in 1927-28, to appoint women holding doctorates nearly as often as their male counterparts to Officer and in the School of Education, as well as, for the first time, to full professorships. Graph 13 shows that the proportions of women and men holding degrees other than the doctorate and appointed to the School of Education rose to their highest levels in 1927-28 and 1932-33. In accounting for these changes it is necessary to examine two events within the College. In the first instance, Dean James Earl Russell stepped down from his post and was succeeded by his son William F. Russell. The father's leadership style has been characterized as paternalistic,[39] while the son's as bureaucratic.[40] The notion of promotion by merit, including appropriate earned credential, is

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Lagemann, p.27.

[38]David Hammock, Professor of History at Case Western Reserve University focuses on the agenda-setting power of funding agencies, particularly the Sage Foundation. Research in process, 1986.

[39]Kenneth Harold Toepfer, "James Earl Russell and the Rise of Teachers College, 1897-1915." Unpublished doctoral dissertation. NY: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1966. See, especially, p.284. A letter dated October 18, 1900 from Dean James Earl Russell to Grace Hoadly Dodge noted, "Teachers College is far from the day when it can dispense with the personal element. The day may come when everything can be done by rule and rote, but that day has not yet arrived." President's Files, TCeanna Special Collections. Department of Special Collections, Milbank Memorial Library, Teachers College, Columbia University.

[40]Personal communication with Ralph W. Tyler, March 1984. See also, Report of the Dean of Teachers College, 1934, pp.9-22, and Cremin, et al., pp.131-141.

strongly attached to bureaucratic practices within the academy.[41] Thus William F. Russell's faith in the rules could help account for women's increased rate of appointments to the College's more prestigious posts, as well as the decrease in the proportion of non-doctorate holding men to Officer status (shown on Graph 12).

Related to the change in leadership was the increasing perception on the part of faculty and administration alike that the two-school structure was dysfunctional. Complaints about overlapping courses and program offerings, coupled with comments that vocational education was no longer attractive to students or indeed the mission of the College, led William Russell to initiate action, shortly after taking office in 1926, which led to the professional designation for all Teachers College faculty.[42] It seems reasonable to assume that the efforts leading toward professional designation included awarding the desired appointments to qualified women and men faculty on a more equal basis.

A second explanation for the changing patterns of appointment may lie in the force generated in the early 1900s by the feminist and equal rights movements. Widespread attention to women's status and strong advocacy for more equitable treatment of women academics pressured administrators to address institutional biases against women's advancement.[43] Women entering the academic community in the nineteen

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[41]Lawrence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American University. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965. Veysey notes that a "uniformity of standardized practices was coming into being" along with the professionalizing of academia (p.31). This uniformity could account for the more equal treatment of similarly credentialed women and men at Teachers College. See also, Kathy E. Ferguson, The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1984; Bledstein; Merkle; Rudolph; Joel H. Spring, Education and the Rise of the Corporate State. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972; and Thorstein Veblen, The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of the Universities by Business Men. NY: Hill & Wang, 1957. Reprint of 1918 edition.

[42]Dean's Report to Trustees of Teachers College, 1929, pp.11-13.

[43]Cole, especially "Chapter 6: Marginal women: A History of the Triple Penalty," pp.186ff; Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States. NY: Atheneum Press, 1974; Penna Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater, Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890-1940. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987; Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982; Sylvia Strauss, "Traitors to the Masculine Cause:" The Men's Campaigns for Women's Rights. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982.

twenties did so under more favorable conditions than did women of either earlier or later periods. This more favored group maintained its advantages its tenure, unlike those entering with less advantage who, throughout its tenure in academe, did not experience the same levels of opportunity.[44]

Teachers College's post-two-school's era record of hiring women and their subsequent appointments may lend support to the notions that activism on the behalf of women led to gains for the then-contemporary cohort. Preliminary research finds that an increasing proportion of Officers were women: 31% in 1922-23, 34% in 1932-33, and 50% in 1936-37. Although further research is needed for confirmation, it may be that these figures reflect the advantages of the 1920 cohort of women as they moved through the institution. In 1936-37, for instance, a dramatic change occurred in the ratios of women to men appointed Officer and holding the rank of full professor, regardless of highest degree held. Men constituted 94% of such faculty in 1932-33, and women but 6%; however, in 1936-37 men occupied only 75%, and women 25%, of this high status designation.

The advancement opportunities gained by women in 1927-28 and 1932-33 may have a stronger base in the earlier focus of attention on women than from the bureaucratization of Teachers College, as indicated by women's decreasing opportunities for entry into the institution. As discussed earlier, the College tended to hire increasingly more men than women during the two-school era. This practice tended, as could be expected, to increase the portion of assistant professors who were men: from 39% in 1932-33 to 55% in 1936-37. In view of these increases of men in the pool, research extending beyond this present study could well uncover decreasing opportunities for women's advancement within, as well as their entrance into, a now fully professional Teachers College.[45] Such research may additionally find that the rules accompanying bureaucratization at first provided advantages for qualified women but that this very function induced the College toward hiring men. At the very least, it may be found that Teachers College's bureaucratic reliance on credentials, combined with ongoing resistance

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[44]Cole, pp.216-226; Alice Kessler-Harris, "Ambition and Its Antidote in a New Generation of Female Workers," in Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States. NY: Oxford University Press, 1982; Susan Ware, Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930's. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982.

[45]Some anecdotal evidence exists to indicate that this was indeed true. Author's personal communication with Dr. Maxine Greene, William F. Russell Professor in the Foundations of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, December 1985.

to women's gaining the most desired credentials, foreclosed academic women's professional opportunities.[46]

Countering the feminist force described above was a pervasive pro-masculine bias defining both the professions and public leadership, made all the more powerful by the College's growing emphasis not on teaching but on supervision, administration, and research. The interplay of elements here are complex, and a through discussion of them lies beyond the scope of this paper.[47] It can be noted that the field of education during the period under study has been described as an era characterized by the phrase, "women teach and men manage,"[48] and that the professions were not only man-made but "masculine in

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[46]The phenomenon of women's being denied access to credentials which, in turn, closes access to professional employment has been described as part of the "triple penalty" or barrier faced by women. The third piece of this triple penalty is the perception that professional careers are not appropriate for women in the first place. Cole, op cit.. See also, Judith M. Gappa and Barbara S. Uehling. Women in Academe: Steps to Greater Equality. AAHE-ERIC/Higher Education Research Report. Washington, D.C.: The American Association for Higher Education, 1979; Graham, op. cit.; Richard L. Simpson and Ida Harper Simpson, "Women and Bureaucracy in the Semi-Professions." Amitai Etzioni, editor, The Semi-Professions and their Organization: Teachers, Nurses, Social Workers. NY: The Free Press, 1969, pp.196-265

[47]Sally J. Thomas, "'Women's Sphere' and Institutional Structure: Teachers College, Columbia University's Two-School System, 1913-1933." Doctoral Dissertation. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1986. "Chapter II: Sex-Roles and Institutional Structure" provides a fuller description of these elements and their relationship to professional designation. See also, Dale Spender, Men's Studies Modified: The Impact of Feminism on the Academic Disciplines, especially "Introduction", pp.1-9. Oxfordd: Pergamon Press, 1981.

[48]Myra H. Strober and David Tyack, "Why do Women Teach and Men Manage? A Report on Research on Schools." SIGNS: Journal of Women in Culture and Society. Vol 5, No.3 (Spring 1980), pp.494-503. See also, Sari Knapp Biklin, " The Progressive Education Movement and the Question of Women." Teachers College Record 80 (1978), pp.316-335; Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977; Redding S. Sugg, Jr. Motherteachers: The Feminization of American Education. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1978; and M. Elizabeth Tidball, "Of Men and Research." Journal of Higher Education 47 (July-August 1976), pp.373-389.

[their] mentality."[47] This mentality, rooted in the notion of separate spheres for women and men,[50] consigned women to the private realm and subordinated them to men who dominated public roles of leadership and control.

A comment attributed to Martin Luther King, Jr. captures the lessons to be gleaned from Teachers College's history. King acknowledged that morality can't be legislated but emphasized that behavior can be regulated. The issue of morality here focuses on equal opportunities for full participation for women. The issue is a moral one because it touches on a system of assigning and rewarding values. Teachers College, in word and action, gave highest value to the professional aims of the institution, Teachers College. And professionalizing served the College well, moving it from a status little, if any, advanced from the nation's better normal schools to a position of national and international pre-eminence.[51]

The increasing emphasis on professionalizing at Teachers College occurred in the "interplay of researchers driving their disciplines toward scientific professionalism and ambitious administrators responding to new ideas of excellence."[52] The two Schools provided the

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[47]Otto Rank. Beyond Psychology. NY: Dover Press, 1958. See also, Adrianne Rich, "Toward a Woman-Centered University" in, Florence Howe, editor, Women and the Power to Change. NY: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975, pp.15-46.

[50]The belief in and practices stemming from separate spheres have been well documented in both historical and contemporaty writings. Examples range from Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of thee rights of Woman. Carol H. Poston, editor. NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1975. Reprint of 1792 edition; John Stuart Mill, Essays on Sex Equality. Alice Rossi, editor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970; Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas. NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1938; Linda Kerber, Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revoulutionary America. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1980; to authors cited elsewhere in this paper.

[51]For an international view of the import of Teachers College, see Maurice Caullery, Universities and Scientific Life in the United States. James Haughton Woods and Emmet Russell, translators. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1922. Caullery writes of the School of Education, "the professional institution of pedagogy at Columbia University . . . and worthy of emulation by advanced educators everywhere." p.67.

[52]Donald W. Light, Jr., "Introduction: The Structure of Academic Professions." Sociology of Education 47 (Winter 1974), pp.2-28. Quote from p.18.

structure wherein "men may have been able to maximize the opportunities of academic prosperity, while women [could only] minimize the disadvantages of academic adversity."[53] The College finessed its beginnings in the feminized field of education at a time when the nation was witnessing a public burst of energy toward increased opportunities for women.[54] A firmly entrenched cultural propensity to sort citizens by sex and reward them accordingly underlay the success achieved by administrators in "responding to new ideas of excellence," but specific strategies can be identified as also important factors that success. Chief among those strategies were:

- Building on an already successful organization.
- Engaging a strong, visionary leader who took the initiative and the risks needed to counter the current status quo.
- Stating and re-stating the desired mission of the institution as factual--even in the face of countering practices.
- Segregating the most highly desireable elements of the host organization from those deemed less highly desired, including segregation by sex through the use of "segregation, functional differentiation, and social distance mechanisms."[55]
- Channelling resources into programs/projects/people supporting the desired mission and withholding resources from those not giving such support.

As we look back at the definitions of women's and men's roles and of professional higher education set by Teachers College during its first decades, we find the early traces of problems which we face in education today. The College traded values such as philanthropic service for professional advancement, an emphasis on teaching for a

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[53]Robert McCaughey, "A Statistical Profile of the Barnard College Faculty, 1900-1974." Mimeographed. NY: Department of History, Barnard College, Columbia University, 1975.

[54]After the 1934 reorganization of the faculty, formal recognition of the ideals of social service and practical training disappeared, being replaced by the designation, "professional," ostentatiously used as the initial word in the title of each of the newly formed departments.

[55]Barbara F. Reskin and Patricia A. Roos, "Status Hierarchies and Sex Segregation." In Christine Bose and Glenna Spitz, editors, Ingredients for Women's Employment Policy. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1987, pp.3-22. Quote from p.8.

focus on research, the grounding of teacher training in the disciplines for credentials based on teaching practices, and the advancement of women for the retention of male domination. These trade-offs have led to what many consider our undoing in our educational efforts. Who has not heard today's high school and college graduates characterized not as educated citizens but as illiterate, culturally ignorant, self-absorbed, and credential conscious?

It may be thought simplistic to believe that the full inclusion of women and their values in policy making arenas would have shaped society and its educational institutions into what we may now be defining as more appropriate structures. Support for that belief lies, however, in the unwanted outcomes set in motion with the exclusionary practices of Teachers College and its two-school system. The plight of women and minorities in today's education institutions differs little from those in the early decades of this century. Given the plethora of outcries against the current status quo, we may be as well in a similar period of changing definitions and value emphasis. The strategies listed above effected the transformation of Teachers College in the earlier period. They may work again to answer today's new ideas of excellence, transforming our institutions into more humane, community-oriented ones which provide inclusive opportunities for all citizens.